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DOCUMENTS

Spanish Policy toward Virginia, 1606-1612; Jamestown, Ecija, and John Clark of the Mayflower

[Miss Irene A. Wright, of Seville, author of *The Early History of Cuba*, sends to the *Review* the following contribution, accompanied by numerous documents from the archives of Seville and Simancas, of which three are selected for publication. Thirty years ago the late Alexander Brown obtained from Simancas some eighty or ninety documents relating to this same matter, and printed translations of them in his *Genesis of the United States* (1897). They were a wonderful find, illuminated early Virginia history with a fresh light, and added to it many picturesque details. The translations, however, which he entrusted to Professor Schele de Vere, were often faulty.¹

Few of Miss Wright's Simancas documents are identical with Mr. Brown's, though sometimes they run parallel, for in that archive, in the division called *Secretaría de Estado*, there are two widely separated sections devoted to the "Negociación de Inglaterra", and Mr. Brown's documents were almost all taken from one of these, while Miss Wright's come from the other.² She also has found many pertinent documents in the Archives of the Indies, in Seville, mostly in the division called "Indiferente General".

The reasons for choosing, from Miss Wright's large series of documents, the three here presented, are sufficiently indicated below. After selecting them, the editor has made appropriate modifications in her introduction—without opportunity to consult her, but he trusts without marring her work—and has added such foot-notes as the lack of American books in Seville prevented her from supplying.

It has not been the custom of this journal to add translations of documents in Spanish, or other foreign languages, but an exception has been made in the case of the documents here presented, because they make their appeal not solely to students of Spanish-American history, presumed to be able to read Spanish, but also to many whose pursuit is the history of Virginia, or who, especially in this tercentenary year of 1920, are interested in any of the personages of the *Mayflower's* voyage.

In printing the Spanish texts, proper punctuation has been inserted, and the use of *u* and *v* and of *i* and *j* has been normalized. All dates are of new style.—Ed.]

DOCUMENTS preserved in the General Archive at Simancas, in Spain, show that, from the commencement, Don Pedro de Çuñiga,

¹ Professor Schele de Vere's statement of the difficulties of translation, Brown, *Genesis*, I. 43-44, is greatly exaggerated.

² Miss Wright's from the section comprising *legajos* 806-846; Mr. Brown's from that comprising *legajos* 2511-2604 (Biaudet's 10 and 49 respectively). See Díaz Sánchez, *Guía*, pp. 69, 74; Biaudet, *Les Archives de Simancas*, pp. 52, 60.

Spanish ambassador at London, kept his government informed concerning English activities in "a part of America called Virginia";³ other documents preserved in the Archive of the Indies at Seville show that, despite strenuous recommendations to action from its council of state, the Spanish government nevertheless took no steps toward hindering those activities. Not even when he was assured that Virginia constituted a peril, not only to his treasure galleons in the Caribbean, but even to his rich mines at Zacatecas, to Peru, and to all his business in the Pacific, did Philip move "to cut the thread" of English colonization in the New World.⁴ He underestimated the menace of it. He considered that the English were wasting money on a worthless region; and he was well pleased to see them do so.

For its own protection, the garrison in Florida was not, in 1608, reduced to 150 from 300 men, as had been intended,⁵ and in 1609 and again in 1611 expeditions were despatched to reconnoitre the region and to spy out details of the English settlement itself, but beyond this, regardless of the recommendations of his council of state that he use force to dislodge dangerous heretics from land which lay "within the demarkation of the crown of Castile", the Catholic king took no measures to upset the new-laid cornerstone of British empire; he contented himself with seeking information concerning it. Of the two reconnaissances made, additional information can now be presented.

On December 24, 1606, Don Pedro de Cuñaiga wrote that the King of England had issued patents to two colonies, conceding to them all the mainland of North America between 32° and 55°, from the coast inland for 100 leagues. The settlers were free "to plant their religion in that part". They were to rob nobody, on penalty of forfeiting the king's protection, which, otherwise, they were to have. The second colony was not to be within 100 leagues of the first, "but he does not speak", the ambassador remarked, "of the distance they should be from your majesty's ships", passing, he meant, through the Bahama Channel en route from the colonies to Spain, with rich cargoes of silver and of other valuable merchandise. Officers were being sworn in, and, with the assistance of the Spanish king's rebel vassals of the Low Countries, the English meant, Don Pedro declared, to send two thousand settlers into Virginia.⁶

³ *E.g.*, Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 843, f. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, leg. 844, f. 21.

⁵ Seville, Archivo General de Indias, 147-5-16, Indiferente General, junta de guerra de Indias, January 26, 1607, July 8, 1608.

⁶ Cuñaiga to king, December 24, 1606, *ibid.* (printed in Brown, *Genesis*, I, 88-90).

With this despatch in view, the council for war in the Indies on March 14, 1607, recommended that "all necessary force should be employed to hinder this project, and by no means should opportunity be afforded to foreign nations to occupy this land, for it was discovered by the crown of Castile and lies within its demarkation. Moreover, their proximity would, as is obvious, worry all the Indies and Indian trade, the more so if they introduce there the religion and liberty of conscience which they profess. This alone is what most obliges [us] to the defense, next after [our] reputation, which is so imperilled." The council further advised that Don Pedro de Cũniga be instructed to investigate carefully and if he found that the plans he had outlined were being carried into effect, he was to "lay the matter before the king of England, complaining that he permit his vassals to attempt to disturb the peace of the seas, coasts and lands of your majesty, and that, through him, the rebels and other nations be favored in this project".⁷

On August 21, 1608, his council of state, having seen a report by the Jesuit, Father Cresuelo, and certain advices submitted by Colonel (Sir William) Stanley, assured Philip "that this matter of Virginia is not to be remedied by any negotiation, but by force, punishing those who have gone there, for to do so will not break the peace".⁸ On October 22, 1608, the council for war in the Indies advised the king "that an armada should be assembled, with all possible speed, to go hunt them and drive them out from wherever they may be, punishing them exemplarily, and because at present there is in Spain no armada which can be used for this purpose, nor means nor inclination to assemble one, the council proposes to your majesty the ten galleons which have just been built at Dunkirk for the coasts of Flanders. . . ." They were in a convenient port; 50,000 ducats might be appropriated from the silver which the armada was bringing from the Indies, to arm, man, and provision them. Juan Gutierrez de Garibay, already designated to command these vessels, knew the Florida coast, and might at the last moment be ordered to proceed to Virginia, with confidence "that God will give him success on this occasion". The king confined himself to decreeing that the galleons (*galeoncetas*, he called them) be brought to Spain; "as for the rest, I will be considering it".⁹

He referred the suggestion of the council for war to the council

⁷ Junta de guerra de Indias, March 14, 1607, *ibid.* Rebels of the Netherlands are meant.

⁸ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, ff. 10, 11.

⁹ Seville, A. G. I., 147-5-16, *consulta* based on Cũniga's letter of March 28, 1608, for which see Brown, *Genesis*, I. 147.

of state and on November 22, 1608, that body expressed agreement with them; "that it will be well to bring here the ten *galeoncetas* which have been built in Dunkirk, and when they shall have arrived, to see, according to the condition of affairs then, what may be most convenient to do; and in order that no time be lost in bringing the said *galeoncetas*, that your majesty deign to order to be provided at once the money recommended by the council; and that inquiry be made whether General Juan Gutierrez de Garibay is available for this undertaking".¹⁰ Regardless of whether he was, or not, the undertaking itself seems never to have materialized.

The crown desired further information concerning Virginia. At this same time (October 22, 1608) Martin de Aroztegui, who was at San Sebastian, was ordered, through the council for war in the Indies, "to inform himself (with great secrecy and skill) from pilots and persons who have recently arrived from Newfoundland in San Juan de Luz and other parts of that province, whether en route going or coming they met or sighted any vessels belonging to English or other northern nationalities who may have gone to those regions, and particularly to Virginia which is toward the coast of Florida, and if they have learned anything of their designs, and in what latitude they met them", etc., etc. He was to report if there were two small vessels available, with pilots and mariners acquainted with those western waters, estimating the expense of sending them out to reconnoitre Virginia. Aroztegui reported on November 1. The council had written of Virginia; his reply was all New France. Canada and the northwest passage occupied his horizon.¹¹

On November 8, 1608—perhaps immediately upon receipt of Aroztegui's prompt response—a *cédula* was issued, through the council for war in the Indies, to Pedro de Ybarra, governor of Florida, bidding him explore "the bays and ports which are in Virginia and its coasts", and discover "what English or rebels have gone there and with what designs and if they have established and fortified themselves in any part and with what people and forces". He was to report promptly. It had evidently been decided that the reconnaissance could be made most cheaply and most expediently from Florida. The text of this *cédula* echoes Don Pedro de Cúñiga's despatch of December 24, 1606, and the views thereon expressed by the council for war in the Indies, but without diminishing the menace they described, for the *cédula* estimates the Englishmen about to pour into Virginia at 2500 or 3000, whereas the ambassador had

¹⁰ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, f. 21.

¹¹ Seville, A. G. I., 140-2-9, junta de guerra; 143-5-2, Aroztegui.

reckoned the possibilities at 2000 only! The king suggested that Governor Ybarra despatch upon this mission Captain Francisco Fernandez de Ecija, who, in 1605, had been commissioned to explore the coast north of the Florida settlements, and in execution of that commission had gone as far as Cape San Roman. He was to make a very thorough reconnaissance of the country and report in detail upon it and upon what the English, or the rebels, had accomplished there.¹²

Through the next two years and more the ambassador at London, Don Pedro de Cũñiga, and his successor, Don Alonso de Velasco, continued to report the varying fortunes of the Virginia venture, and the council of state continued to assure the crown that the matter was important and should be attended to "very much in earnest".¹³ Nothing was done—not even when, writing on June 14, 1610, Don Alonso de Velasco reported that "the English who went to Virginia are besieged by the Indians, most of them having died, and the rest are eating each other for hunger, on account of which that enterprise is cooling down, and it would be easy to undo it completely by sending a few ships to finish off the survivors". In vain the council of state urged Philip to take advantage of this "excellent opportunity" to obliterate the English from the New World.¹⁴

Toward the end of 1610, according to the despatches of the Spanish ambassador at London, the Virginia enterprise revived; and early in 1611 it was evidently felt that further information in the matter must be had. Don Francisco de Varte informed the council for war in the Indies that he knew a Catholic Englishman who could be relied upon to go to Virginia, from England itself, investigate, and report.¹⁵ When, in April, 1611, the council was of a mind to use him, this man was not available;¹⁶ by the time (June) that he became so, the council had altered its plans and ordered de Varte to drop negotiations with him.¹⁷ Possibly Governor Ybarra had meanwhile been heard from.

¹² Seville, A. G. I., 87-5-2, Audiencia de Mějico, Virrey, Registro de Oficio, Reales Ordenes.

¹³ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, f. 26, *consulta* of April 7, 1609, based on Cũñiga's letters of March 5 and 15, the former of which is printed in Brown, *Genesis*, I. 243-247; and leg. 844, f. 14, *consulta* of July 28, 1609, based on Cũñiga's letters of April 22 and 29 and May 20, from the last of which an extract is printed in Brown, I. 310.

¹⁴ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, ff. 44, 50, *consultas* of July 3 and November 2, 1610. Velasco's letter of June 14 is in Brown, I. 392.

¹⁵ Velasco's letters of September 30 and December 31, 1610, in Brown, I. 418, 442. Secretary of council to Varte, April 30, 1611, Seville, A. G. I., 140-2-9.

¹⁶ Same to same, June 7, 1611, A. G. I., *ibid.*

¹⁷ Same to same, June 21, *ibid.*

Now, before January, 1611, the Spanish council for war, either being uninformed of what the council for war in the Indies had done in this matter, or considering that it had not done enough, decided that it was advisable to send over a competent person to make a thorough reconnaissance of that region and to investigate carefully into English accomplishment in colonization. The council of state was of the opinion that the governor of Cuba, too, should be ordered to look into the strength of the enemy in Virginia.¹⁸

The council for war in the Indies was indignant at the national council's incursion into its domain. It had before it Governor Ybarra's report on his compliance with the *cédula* of November 8, 1608. The reconnaissance which the council for war was now ordering made, had been made already, and the council for war in the Indies petitioned the crown to avoid a repetition of it. This the king declined to do. He decreed that letters he had ordered written through the council for war to the governors of Florida and Cuba should be sent regardless, bidding them to favor the second reconnaissance party;¹⁹ these letters were despatched, presumably under date of March 22, 1611, and the expedition they concerned cleared forthwith from Lisbon.²⁰

Although the council for war in the Indies had said in March that it had Ybarra's report before it, not until May 5, 1611, was the king informed of what Captain Francisco Fernandez de Ecija had done. Their *consulta* of that date is the document printed below with the number I.²¹ Captain Ecija's own report, full and elaborate, with summaries of the speeches made by him and his officers on various occasions, is in existence,²² but the *consulta* sets forth nearly all it contains that is of any importance as respects the Virginian settlement. Governor Ybarra had also sent a *derrotero* (pilot-book) of

¹⁸ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, f. 56, *consulta* of January 22, 1611.

¹⁹ Seville, A. G. I., 147-5-16, *consulta* of March 23, 1611, and *resolución* of the king.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, *consulta* of council for war in Indies, October 31, 1611, and "the Duke" (of Lerma) to Antonio de Aroztegui, December 15.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 147-5-17.

²² Brown speaks of this relation, I. 326, stating that Dr. Shea declined to let him use the copy which Buckingham Smith had bequeathed to the New York Historical Society. There is now also a copy in the Library of Congress, Lowery Collection, Florida, vol. VI., which the editor has used in interpreting our documents. It is marked as from Seville, "A. G. I., Simancas, Real Armada, Gobierno, Papeles pertenecientes . . . 1567 a 1609, Patronato, 2-5- $\frac{3}{8}$ ", is a manuscript of some 12,500 words, and (with Ybarra's preceding orders) is entitled, "Orden del Gobernador D. Pedro de Ybarra (de S. Agustin de la Florida) a el Capitan Francisco Fernandez de Ecija para reconocer las costas del norte de aquella Provincia, y Relacion de este viaje llevado a cabo por el mismo Capitan".

Ecija's voyage, made by his pilot, and describing sea-marks, coast-line, harbors, and soundings.²³ The *consulta* shows the opinions which the report inspired in Ybarra and in the council. Upon it the king wrote: "Since a man has been sent to reconnoitre that port, await what he shall bring who went."

"He . . . who went" was Captain Diego de Molina. He was called *alcaide* (warden) for he was to have been warden of a fort in South America had not an expedition in which he had been active, and at expense, been abandoned, leaving him without employment, and seeking compensation, when the council for war sought a man to visit Virginia.²⁴

Through the council for war, as has been said, a *cédula* dated March 22, 1611,²⁵ was issued to the governors of Florida and Cuba, Ybarra and Gaspar de Pereda; I have not seen this document, but under date of March 30 another was addressed to these governors through the council for war in the Indies which, I take it, was to the same effect—a confirmation, that is, by their immediate superiors, of the commands of the council for war. The *cédula* of March 30 informs Pereda and Ybarra that the *alcaide* Don Diego de Molina and the *alférez* (standard-bearer, ensign) Marco Antonio Perez have been ordered to go "in a caravel which has been equipped for them, on account of the Atlantic squadron, to reconnoitre the port and land called Virginia which is on the coast of Florida". Both governors were instructed to lend all possible assistance.²⁶

On pretense that they were going to recover the artillery of a wrecked ship, Molina and Perez cleared from Lisbon April 13; a "confidential" Englishman, married in that city,²⁷ accompanied them. It is possible that he had served as pilot in the Spanish navy under Don Luis Fajardo. In their caravel, *Nuestra Señora del*

²³ Of this also there is a copy in the same volume of the Lowery Collection, "Derrotero que hizo Andres Gonzalez piloto en la Florida, del viage que verificó por mandado de Pedro de Ybarra, Gobernador y Capitan General de aquellas Provincias, al Xacan", a transcript of nearly 8000 words, marked as from Seville, "A. G. I., Simancas, Florida, Patronato, 1-1- $\frac{1}{10}$ Ro. 31". It is of value for identifying place-names, and has been used in annotating the documents here printed. It appears from a remark in Shepherd's *Guide to Spanish Archives*, p. 80, that there is also a map by Gonzalez, in the same section of the Patronato.

²⁴ Seville, A. G. I., 145-1-3.

²⁵ A. G. I., 54-1-16, and the documents referred to in notes 19 and 20, above.

²⁶ A. G. I., 87-5-2, Audiencia de Méjico, Virrey, Registros de Oficio, Reales Ordenes.

²⁷ Francis Lymbry; see Brown, II. 650, 739, and *passim*. Dale hanged him on his voyage to England in 1616. Purchas, IV. 1713, and Smith, *Generall Historie*, who says, p. 119, that the man had been a pilot for the Spanish Armada in 1588.—The date of sailing is given in Brown, I. 511.

Rosario, Amador Lousado, master, they arrived in Havana on May 24, 1611. In obeying his instructions to their satisfaction Governor Pereda delivered to them a Biscay shallop, with munitions, provisions, etc., "of all which they had great need". With both vessels they cleared from Havana for Virginia on June 2.²⁸

The story of their voyage may be followed by means of various documents in Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, especially a report enclosed in a letter of the Duke of Lerma to Secretary Antonio de Aroztegui, November 13, 1611.²⁹ That report gives us at second hand the substance of what is given at first hand in the documents printed below, under the numbers II. and III. No. II.³⁰ contains the declaration of "the Englishman from Virginia" whom the narrative shows to have been captured there, and a declaration, apparently not quite complete, made jointly by the master, the pilot, and a mariner of the caravel which had taken Molina, Perez, and the English *confidente* up to the Virginian coast. These declarations were made in Havana on July 23, 1611, the day after the caravel's return to that port.³¹ No. III.³² is a later declaration by the same man, "confession of the English pilot from Virginia", taken down in Madrid, February 18, 1613. There are significant differences in one or two details: he was "thirty-five years old and of the religion of his king" when he arrived in Havana; he was forty, a year and a half later when he got to Spain, and a Catholic! But what lends exceptional interest to his depositions is that this English pilot, captured at Point Comfort, was none other than that John Clark who in 1620 was mate of the *Mayflower*. It appears that he was in Malaga in 1609; sailed from London for Virginia with Sir Thomas Dale in March, 1611; was a prisoner in Havana till 1612 and in Spain until 1616, when he was released; made a voyage to Virginia in 1619; was with the *Mayflower* in 1620; was made free of the Virginia Company in 1622; went to Virginia in 1623, and died there soon after.³³

²⁸ Seville, A. G. I., 54-1-16, 81-6-7, and 147-5-16, *consulta* of October 31, 1611.

²⁹ Simancas, Estado, leg. 2588, ff. 81, 82; Brown, I. 511-522.

³⁰ Seville, A. G. I., 147-5-16.

³¹ Brown, I. 518; re-examined later, I. 522.

³² From the next *legajo*, 147-5-17.

³³ Brown, II. 854 *et passim*; (royal order for transfer to Spain, January 17, 1612, A. G. I., 78-2-2, vol. 6, p. 135; arrival at Seville before December 22, 1612, Simancas, leg. 844, f. 152; at Madrid before February 9, 1613, Lerma to Salinas, A. G. I., 147-5-17; released January 26, 1616, Contreras to Vergara, February 1, A. G. I., 140-2-9 III.); Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 132-133; Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Ford, I. 116, 277; *Records of the Virginia Com-*

Governor Pereda had detained the crew of caravel and shallop, in hopes that a punitive expedition, which he stood ready to lead in person, would be formed in Havana; if it were, experienced men would come in handy. Or if such an expedition were sent from Spain they could join it at Puerto Rico, where doubtless it would call.³⁴ A year later, because he felt the expense to which he was being put, because he had received no orders concerning it, and perhaps because he had lost hope that any action would be taken against the English, the governor sent the caravel to Spain in company with the treasure galleons.³⁵

The council for war in the Indies on October 31, 1611, recommended that the Spanish ambassador in London be instructed to seek the release of the three men whom the English had held in Virginia, and the crown so ordered. It was to be argued that it was unjust to hold them, for they had gone to that coast to recover the artillery of a wrecked ship; this was the same story Molina told the English captain at dinner at the fort at Point Comfort!³⁶ London agreed, or perhaps proposed, to exchange the Spaniards for John Clark, and on January 17, 1612, Governor Pereda was ordered to send him at the earliest safe opportunity to the Casa de la Contratación at Seville. It was specified that he was to be well treated and there is evidence that he was so. Despite this early agreement to exchange prisoners, John Clark was not delivered to the British ambassador at Madrid until February, 1616; on receipt of evidence that he had been so delivered, Don Diego de Molina was to be handed over to the Spanish ambassador in London, who was then Don Diego de Sarmiento de Acuña (afterward count of Gondomar).³⁷ The English were slow to give him up (Perez had died in

pany, I. 599, February 13, 1622, "Mr. Deputy acquainted the Court that one mr. Jo. Clarke beinge taken from Virginia longe since by a Spanish Shippe that come to discover that Plantacion by whome he was carried to Spayne and there deteyned fower yeares thinkinge to have made him an instrument to betray that Plantacion, That for somuch as he hath since that time donn the Companie good service in many voyages to Virginia and of late went into Ireland for transportation of Cattle to Virginia he was an humble Suitor to this Court that he might be admitted a free Brother of the Companie and have some shares of land bestowed upon him", which was done; *ibid.*, II. 32, 75, 90, May 22, July 3, 1622.

³⁴ Pereda to the crown, August 12, 1611, A. G. I., 147-5-17; September 11, *ibid.*, 54-1-16; *consulta* of the junta de guerra, October 31, *ibid.*, 147-5-16.

³⁵ Pereda to the crown, August 28, 1612, *ibid.*, 54-1-16.

³⁶ No. III., below; Contreras to Lerma, December 5, 1611, and Lerma to A. de Aroztegui, December 15, A. G. I., 147-5-16.

³⁷ *Real orden* of January 17, 1612, A. G. I., 78-2-2, vol. 6, p. 135; *consultas* of the junta de guerra, January 19, December 22, 1612, January 24, February 23, 1613, July 6, 1614, July 9, 1615, in A. G. I., 147-5-17; of the council of state,

captivity), but by the end of that year Molina was in Spain, welcoming a thousand ducats given to him by his government "in consideration of his long and good service, and the great need in which he finds himself because of his long detention in Virginia".³⁸ He was then planning to go with caravels to reconnoitre and sound the Straits of Magellan.³⁹ It is to be presumed that what information he had concerning Virginia was stale by the time he was permitted to deliver it to his government.

Clark's depositions gave a picture—especially of cannon and fighting force—which may well have inspired respect, and misgiving. In many more advantageous situations, Spaniards had not accomplished in a hundred years as much as John Clark declared that the English had done at Jamestown in half a decade.⁴⁰ And now the ambassador in London said⁴¹ that in response to the Virginia governor's appeals for help, against Spanish attack which he foresaw for that spring, the company of merchants behind the Virginia enterprise was about to send over eight hundred more men, well armed, well clad, with supplies and munitions for a year. The Spanish ambassador assured the king that one hundred went early in March, 1612, and others were expected to follow in April to a total of not over a thousand.⁴²

There was wide divergence in the views of his counsellors as to what the king of Spain ought to do about it. The council for war in the Indies recommended the despatch, in March, 1612, if possible, of an expedition to consist of as many as four thousand men, "to turn the English out" of Virginia. There was discussion whether this expedition should be raised wholly in Spain, or whether resources available in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo should

December 22, 1612, October 31, 1613, January 11, 1614, Simancas, Estado, leg. 844, ff. 152, 172, 175-177; Ledesma to Portugal, November 13, 1612, A. G. I., 152-1-3, vol. 10, p. 135; Contreras to Vergara, December 24, 1612, February 1, 1616, to the prison-keeper, February 26, 1613, to Çiriça, February 18, 1616, *ibid.*, 140-2-9; Lerma to Salinas, February 9, 1613, *ibid.*, 147-5-17. Cf. instructions of Philip III. in Brown, II. 533, 603, 631, 657, 663, and letters of Molina, *ibid.*, pp. 652, 737-744.

³⁸ A. G. I., 140-2-9 IV., p. 105

³⁹ A. G. I., 140-2-9 IV.

⁴⁰ For instance, outside Havana, a very important place, where a garrison of 450 men was maintained, and civilians trained in arms raised the fighting strength to approximately a thousand, there was no settlement in all Cuba to compare with Jamestown, as John Clark described it. But Clark somewhat exaggerated the population; see note 70, below.

⁴¹ *Consulta* of council of state, February 14, 1612, Simancas, Estado, leg. 844, f. 113.

⁴² *Id.*, and *consultas* of March 17 and May 15, *ibid.*, ff. 112, 119.

be called upon; evidently Governor Pereda and the Marques de Salinas had discussed this matter when the latter passed through Havana, and with the marques the council for war in the Indies conferred on his arrival in Spain. There was much talk as to what ships should be used; while the council wanted a large enough force sent to avoid humiliating defeat, it was not desired that the undertaking appear so formidable, or so formally a government enterprise, that the King of England would feel obliged to break the peace on account of it. There were those who held that if the riff-raff who had gone to Virginia were only killed quietly enough, James would conclude that it was their own fault, because they had gone there! In favor of raising this expedition largely in the Indies it was argued that it would provide the King of Spain with the excuse that it was done without his sanction by residents in the Indies alarmed for their own safety. Only one voice in the council for war in the Indies, and that speaking feebly, decried the importance of the English settlement, belittling the desirability of putting an immediate end to it.⁴³

On the contrary, in the council of state the *comendador mayor* of Leon voiced what was now that body's opinion⁴⁴ when he declared that he did not consider the English colony dangerous, nor Virginia valuable, since neither gold nor silver had been found there; it was thought that Clark's testimony showed the settlement to constitute no menace to Spanish commerce. The idea grew that it was clever policy to encourage the English to waste their money. It was even suggested that another vessel be sent to reconnoitre, to worry them and force them to further expenditure.⁴⁵ And this was indeed the policy which Spain adopted, in 1612, toward Virginia.

It will be recalled that in 1565 Philip II. had just given Florida up as hopeless, and had announced his intention to have no more to do with it, when he learned that Frenchmen were succeeding there, where Spaniards had failed. In response to their challenge, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés fared forth—the very spirit of the Spain of his time, sword in one hand and cross in the other—for Christ Our Lord, for the Catholic king, and for the merchants of Seville—to enforce Spanish religious, political, and commercial monopoly in the Indies. Now, precisely when he was wearied of that north country and fain to check the drain it made upon his

⁴³ *Consulta* of January 19, 1612, A. G. I., 147-5-17.

⁴⁴ *Consulta* of council of state, February 14, 1612, Simancas, Estado, leg. 844, f. 113.

⁴⁵ *Id.*, and *consulta* of August 31, 1612, *ibid.*, f. 146.

patience and his purse, the English had arisen to menace another Philip in exactly the same fashion, from Virginia.

But times had changed, and men with them. The day of the religious fanatic—the day of Menéndez and of Drake—had passed, and no zealot arose to serve the Holy Catholic Faith as devoutly in Virginia as it had been served in Florida, a generation before, despite the fact that the king's councils lamented the proximity of heresy and in plain words recommended slitting the throats of the Protestants of Virginia as those of the Calvinists had in all piety been slit in Florida. Though Philip was still jealous of his political supremacy “within the demarkation of the crown of Castile”, he was prudently so; after all, it was a worthless country which the King of England had made bold to assign to his subjects, for it contained neither gold nor silver mines. The Catholic king had had more than enough of war with Englishmen; Philip harbored no desire to break the peace—certainly Virginia was not worth it. Though Spain still maintained the pretense of monopoly of Indies trade, Philip II. himself had confessed, to his son, that the English could not be kept out of it;⁴⁶ to “clean the seas” in the Indies had been too great a task even for the convictions and the ability of Pedro Menéndez. But to protect her lion's share of the profits from the Indies Spain had built her a navy to match and more than match the sea-power of England; though it did not prevent him from being always a-tremble in his royal shoes for the safety of his merchant fleets and of his treasure-galleons, possession of that navy must have operated to persuade Philip that Jamestown meant less to Spanish commerce than had Port Royal.⁴⁷ The Spaniards took little stock in hopes of finding a northwest passage.⁴⁸ It is doubtful whether the suggestion that the settlement at Jamestown constituted a danger to Mexico, the Isthmus, Peru, and the China trade, appeared preposterous to Philip; he possessed no accurate map with which to compare it, and Drake and Essex had demonstrated that there was nothing whatsoever impossible to men of their nationality. But, lacking the spur of religious fanaticism, feeling no deep fear of Virginia in any commercial aspect, for once Spain failed to respond to that which usually moved her effectively; she failed to react to the threat of foreign aggression. Philip was content in 1612 to try to keep himself informed concerning Virginia,⁴⁹ and meanwhile

⁴⁶ See Corbett, *The Successors of Drake*, p. 238.

⁴⁷ See Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, II. 367.

⁴⁸ Council of state, January 3, 1612, Simancas, leg. 844, f. 91.

⁴⁹ Council of state, May 15, 1612, May 9, 1613, *ibid.*, ff. 119-120, 165; junta de guerra, January 24, 1613, A. G. I., 147-5-17.

to let the English spend there all the money they would waste upon a region he considered undesirable.

IRENE A. WRIGHT

I. CONSULTA OF THE COUNCIL FOR WAR IN THE INDIES, MARCH 5, 1611.⁵⁰

Junta de guerra de Indias A 5 de Marzo 1611.—Con lo que se ofrezca acerca de la virginia que los yngleses la ban ocupando.

don diego de ybarra.

don diego brochero.

don fernando Giron.

Licenciado don francisco arias
malonado.

doctor bernardo de olmedilla.

licenciado don francisco de tejada.

Señor: Vuestra magestad, por cedula de ocho de noviembre de 608 despachada Por esta Junta de guerra, mando a Pedro de ybarra governador y capitan general que entonçes hera de la florida ordenase al capitan francisco fernandez de ecija, o a otro de quien

tubiese satisfacion, fuese por la Costa del Norte y pasando el Cavo de san Roman reconociese todo lo que toca a la virginia y los puertos, bayas y escollos que ay en su Costa en los sitios que se puedan fortificar, y si los yngleses o otras naciones an pasado a aquellas partes y si an hecho pie y fortificadose en alguna y en donde y como y con que gente y fuerzas, o si an poblado algun lugar y porque derrota an ydo, y de que sustancia es aquella tierra y lo que della pueden sacar estas naciones y con que yndios se Comunican y que distancia ay desde la florida a la Virginia o a la parte donde an hecho asiento, y con que prevençiones y fuerzas se podrian hechar de alli y estorvarles sus yntentos y castigarlos. en cuyo cumplimiento despacho el governador al dicho capitan ecija en Una çabra con 25 personas de mar y guerra y una yndia natural y lengua de aquellas provinçias casada con Un soldado español y algunas azadas y otras cosas de hierro que le dio para grangear las boluntades de los yndios y Rescatar a Un franzes que havia muchos años le tenia preso Un Caçique de aquellas partes para que tamvien les sirviere de lengua, y por la ynstrucion que le dio le hordeno hiziese la diligencia que vuestra magestad mandava hasta llegar a la altura de 37 grados y medio, que es el parage a donde entendia estava la poblacion de los yngleses, y que no los allando alli pasase hasta la mina del oro que es a los 44 grados y medio, Reconociendo el gran Rio de gama que es en 43 grados, y el dicho capitan ecija salio del puerto de san agustin de la florida a Hazer esta diligencia en 26 de Junio de 609 y fue Reconociendo y sondando todos los puertos y bayas que havia en la costa, y haviendo llegado al Rio que llaman del Jordan a los 8 de Julio se ynformo alli del yndio mandado[r] y otros y tubo noticia que a quatro dias de camino pasado el llano de san Roman estan a la poblacion de los yngleses en Un pueblo que se llama guandape, Junto a Un Rio que sale a la mar, y es en una isla çercada de agua que de una banda se sirve con la tierra firme, y que de hordinario ay en este puerto navios y habria tres meses que salieron siete, y los seis tomaron la buelta del norte y el otro la del sur, y en el puerto quedavan siempre algunos de Respeto y cada dia yban y venian otros muchos de

⁵⁰ A. G. I., 147-5-17. In the margin the king has written, "Pues se ha embiado a Reconocer aquel puerto esperese a lo que trugere el que fue", *i.e.*, "Since a man has been sent to reconnoitre that port await what he shall bring who went".

la buelta del norte, y que tenian hecho un fuerte pero que hera de madera y estaban confederados con los caciques Comarcanos y a ocho de ellos los Comunicaban como amigos y los regalavan mucho y les davan vestidos y herramientas y los mandavan sembrar, sin que los mismos yngleses se ocupasen en esto sino en su fortificaçion, y en la parte donde de todo esto se ynformo el capitan eçija Rescato al franzes (llamado Juan corbe) natural de have de graçia y Con el salieron en seguimiento de su Viaje a los 15 de Julio, y a los 25 del llegando a la baya del Jacan (que por otro nombre llaman la Virginia) Reconoçio un navio surto en ella y por ser de mucho mas porte que el que ellos llevaban, porque traya dos velas de gavia y una gran bandera de tope, y haver hechado de ver que deseava enpearlos en la baya donde pudiese ser señor porque se yba Retirando, no se atrevieron a seguirle ni a cerrar con el, y asi pasaron luego hasta 35 grados y medio de donde por tormentas y estar el tiempo adelante para aquellos mares dieron la buelta para el Jordan, y alli se bolvieron a ynformar de los yngleses, Y Ratificando los yndios en lo que antes havian dicho añadieron que junto a la fuerza de madera hechavan mucha piedra el agua a media pierna y que la trayan con unos barcos y havia muchas mugeres y niños que yban a pasear por los canpos y casas de los yndios cercanos, y que desde el Rio Jordan a la poblaçion por Camino derecho por tierra ay poco mas de 50 leguas, y a sant agustin de la florida 100, de manera que desde ella a la parte donde los yngleses se ban fortificando ay 150 leguas, y el françes que Rescataron declaro que de los yndios del pueblo en que estubo cautibo, que yban y venian de Hordinario a la poblaçion de los yngleses, supo que tenian hecho un fuerte de madera y su pueblo formado de lo mismo y dos navios gruesos artillados a manera de Castillos en guarda del fuerte y otros dos en guarda y centinela de la barra, sin los que yban y venian, y que todos los años yva un navio de ynglaterra Cargados de bastimentos y Municiones; y con esta Relaçion ynvio el governador pedro de yvarra un derrotero del Viaje que Hizo el dicho capitan eçija, hecho Por el piloto que fue con el, diziendo las señas y la calidad de los puertos y bayas que ay desde la florida a la parte donde llegaron, y el governador dize en su carta que le pareçe que el disignio que llevan estos yngleses, a lo que a podido entender, es fortificarse en la dicha baya del Jacan, que tiene quatro leguas y mas de boca y apartandose de tierra desde su entrada un tiro de piedra veinte brazas de fondo donde menos, y entrar la tierra adentro trayendo para esto gente suficiẽte hasta llegar a la nueva mexico, nueva galiçia, y Vizcaya y çacatecas, que estan en su misma altura, y pasar a la otra mar del poniente atravesando la tierra, porque de la parte de la florida suben grandes Rios la tierra adentro y de la otra mar tanvien se tiene notiçia que salen otros no menores y que ay poca distançia de los unos a los otros, y subiendo el enemigo por los de la banda del este podra abaxar por los del Ueste y fortificarse en los puertos de la mar y hazer alla navios y armadas y correr toda la Costa de la nueva españa, tierra firme, peru y china en gran daño de la Corona y basallos de vuestra magestad, y que antes que se apodere mas de la tierra ymportaria tratar el hecharle della, porque como a los naturales no les quitan nada de sus Ritos, que es lo que ellos mas quieren, y Juntamente los acariçian y Regalan, aun que con cosas de poco valor, los tienen muy gratos y contentos y se les ban allegando todos, y en aquella Costa del norte Podran poblar la barra de cayagua que es estremado sitio 70

leguas del presidio de la florida en 33 grados y medio, a donde pueden venir por tierra desde su poblacion y ay Cantidad de yndios muy vien proveydos de frutos de la tierra y otros mantenimientos.

y aviendose Visto todo en la junta de guerra, Juntamente con otros papeles que ynçidentemente se llevaron a ella aun que de poco credito, y que vuestra magestad en respuesta de una consulta de 23 de marzo deste año, sobre que se suspendiese la execucion de la diligencia que por el Consejo de guerra se ynviava a Hazer en rrazon de Reconocer la Virginia y que esto Corriese por la junta pues le tocava y hera materia que estava yntroduçida en ella, manda se Cunpla lo que por el dicho Consejo de guerra tenia resuelto y que si a la junta se le ofreçiere otra Cosa que convenga prevenir para la execucion de lo que se a de hazer se le consulte, y considerando los daños e ynconvenientes grandes que se prometen de la vezindad destes ynçleses y el cuydado en que pondrian a todas las yndias occidentales y contratacion dellas, mayormente si plantan en aquellas partes la Religion que profesan, a paresçido que al servicio de dios y de vuestra magestad y vien universal de sus Vasallos conviene mucho atajarles desde luego sus yntentos, hechandolos de alli antes que echen mas Raizes y se apoderen mas de la tierra y se fortifiquen y tengan mayores fuerzas y se estiendan Por otras partes como lo yran procurando, pues no es otro su disignio, y si esto no se Haze con tiempo sera despues muy dicifil, mas para que se pueda hazer con efecto, porque las notiçias que se tienen no se juzgan por bastantes, sera bien Cobrarla çierta y entera de todo lo que ay en la Virginia y para esto, demas del medio que por el Consejo de guerra se tomo y se mando executar, se a ofreçido otro, y es que siendo vuestra magestad servido se podrian ynviar dos Religiosos del seminario de ynçleses que mas satisfacion se tenga para que vayan a ynlaterra y se embarquen en la Primera ocasion de navios que de alli se ynbian a la Virginia, y enterados de los Vezinos poblacion y fortificaciones y la calidad y disposicion del puerto o puertos donde se ban fortificando se buelban a ynlaterra en los mismos navios del trato y de alli a españa Con la mayor y mas entera noticia de todo que se pueda, para que teniendo la neçesaria por anbas Vias se ponga en execucion el yr con fuerzas suficientes a Hecharlos de alli.

don diego de ybarra y don fernando xiron, presupuesto que conviene mucho no se pierda ningun tiempo en cosa que tanto ynporta, son de parecer que mientras se Hazen estas diligencias se bayan Juntando (dando yntento que son para otro algun efecto del servicio de vuestra magestad) hasta quatro o cinco mil hombres y los baxeles necesarios para ellos que sean muy buenos y aproposito para este efecto, con marineros plasticos de aquella navegacion, que llevando Cabeza de la esperiencia noticia y satisfacion que Conbenga para semejante empresa Juzgan seran bastantes fuerças para Conseguir lo que se pretende, demas de que si las nuevas notiçias que se tubieren obligaren a que sean mayores se podran acreçentar con brevedad, para que estando todo a punto salga a navegar la armada para fin de marzo del año que viene de 612, que es el tiempo mas aproposito para el viaje que an de hazer, porque entrado el verano corren en aquellos mares bientos Contrarios y asi yrian muy aventurados y por lo menos seria ynfructuosa la costa que se hiziese pues no podran hazer ningun buen efecto. Vuestra magestad lo mandara ver y probeher lo que mas se sirva. en madrid a 5 de Mayo 1611. (Hay seis rubricas.)

(TRANSLATION.)

Council for War in the Indies, March 5, 1611; with what is offered concerning Virginia, which the English are occupying.

Don Diego de Ybarra.

Don Diego Brochero.

Don Fernando Giron.

Licenciado Don Francisco Arias Maldonado.

Doctor Bernardo de Olmedilla.

Licenciado Don Francisco de Tejada.

My Lord:

Your Majesty, by *cédula* of November 8, 1608, transmitted through this council for war, commanded Pedro de Ybarra, at that time governor and captain general of Florida, to order Captain Francisco Fernandez de Ecija, or some other that he found satisfactory, to go

along the coast northward, and, passing Cape San Roman,⁵¹ to reconnoitre all that relates to Virginia and the ports, bays, and reefs along its coast in the places that can be fortified, and see whether the English, or other nations, have gone to these regions, and whether they have set foot and fortified themselves in any, and where and how and with what people and forces, or whether they have settled any place, and by what route they have gone, and of what quality that land is, and what these nations can obtain from it, and with what Indians they communicate, and what is the distance from Florida to Virginia or to that place where they have settled, and with what measures and forces they can be driven from there and frustrated of their designs and punished. In pursuance of which the governor despatched the said captain Ecija⁵² in a pinnace with twenty-five sailors and soldiers and an Indian woman, a native of those provinces and having their language, married to a Spanish soldier,⁵³ and some hoes and other things of iron which he gave him to obtain the good-will of the Indians and to rescue a Frenchman whom a cacique of those regions had for many years held captive, in order that he also might serve them as interpreter; and by the instructions that he gave him he ordered that he should use the diligence which Your Majesty commanded, until he should come to the latitude of 37½ degrees, which is the place where he understood that the settlement of the English was, and that if he did not find them there he should go on to the gold-mine that is in 44½ degrees,⁵⁴ examining the great Rio de Gama

⁵¹ Cape Fear. The various identifications suggested in these notes are made with the aid of the detailed *derrotero* mentioned in note 23, above, but are not advanced too positively.

⁵² Ecija was captain of one of the two companies of soldiers maintained at St. Augustine, had been there thirty years, and was a man of about sixty-five; so it appears from depositions in the Lowery Collection, Florida, VI., concerning a certain Alonso Sancho Saez de Mercado and his wife, depositions derived from A. G. I., Sim., Sec., Aud. de S. Domingo, 54-5-9. He had accompanied Ybarra in 1604 to Guale, or the Port Royal region (relation in Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos Históricos de la Florida*, Madrid, 1912, pp. 169, 176, 182, 185), and had been at the Rio Jordan (Santee) in 1605, as appears from his report here summarized; see note 22, above.

⁵³ Maria de Miranda, wife of Juan d'Espinosa.

⁵⁴ The notion of a gold-mine at 44° 30' N. was probably based on Champlain's mention of copper-mines visited by him in 1603 near the present Minas Basin.

which is in 43 degrees;⁵⁵ and the said Captain Ecija went out from the port of San Agustin de la Florida to carry out this undertaking on June 26, 1609,⁵⁶ and went along reconnoitring and sounding all the ports and bays that he found along the coast, and having come to the river which they call Jordan⁵⁷ on July 8 he there obtained information from an Indian chieftain and others, and was told that at four days' journey, having traversed the plain of San Roman, they were at the settlement of the English in a village which is called Guandape,⁵⁸ lying beside a river which runs into the sea, and it is on an island surrounded by water, which on one side is joined to the mainland, and that ordinarily there are ships in that port, and three months ago seven departed from it, and six of them took the course to the north and the other to the south, and in the harbor there remained always some on guard, and every day many others came and went, up the coast to the northward, and that they had made a fort but that it was of wood, and they had made a league with the neighboring caciques, and that with eight of them they associated as friends, and they entertained them much and gave them clothes and tools and ordered them to sow grain, although the English themselves did not occupy themselves with this but with their fortification, and in the place where information was had of all this Captain Ecija rescued the Frenchman, called Juan Corbe, a native of Have de Gracia,⁵⁹ and with him they set sail, on July 15, pursuing their voyage, and on the 25th, having come to the Bay of Jacan (which by another name they call Virginia) he perceived a ship anchored in it, and since it was of much greater tonnage than that in which they were, for it carried two topsails and a great banner at its masthead, and since he had perceived that it desired to entrap them in the bay where it could be master, because it withdrew before them, they did not venture to follow it nor to close with it, so they went thence to 35½ degrees, whence, because of storms and because the season was advanced for those seas, they returned to the Jordan, and there they again sought information respecting the English, and the Indians confirmed what they had said before and added that alongside the wooden fort they had cast much stone into the water, mid-leg deep, and that they brought it in boats, and that there were many women and children who went about through the fields and houses of the neighboring Indians, and that from the Rio Jordan to the settlement by a straight path overland it was little more than fifty leagues, and to Sant Agustin de la Florida one hundred, so that from there to the place where the English are fortifying them-

In his *Des Sauvages*, already published in 1604 (p. 59 of Laverdière ed., *Oeuvres de Champlain*, II.) he locates the mine "par les 44 degrez et quelques minutes", though in reality the whole basin is well above 45°.

⁵⁵ Apparently Estevan Gomez's Rio de los Gamos; the Bay of Fundy. Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*, pp. 187, 193.

⁵⁶ They embarked at St. Augustine, in the pinnace *La Asuncion de Christo*, after mass on Sunday, June 21, but passed the bar on June 26.

⁵⁷ Santee. The day before, they picked up an Indian Alonso whom Ecija had seen at the Jordan in 1605, and who could talk with Maria.

⁵⁸ Jamestown. Guandape was the name of the place where Ayllon attempted settlement in 1526. Shea, *Catholic Church*, I. 107.

⁵⁹ Havre de Grace.

selves it is 150 leagues;⁶⁰ and the Frenchman whom they rescued declared⁶¹ that from the Indians of the town in which he was kept captive, who frequently went and came to the settlement of the English, he had learned that they had built a wooden fort and a town made of the same and had two large ships with guns, guarding the fortlike castles, and two others as guards and sentinels of the bar, in addition to those that went and came, and that every year a ship came from England laden with provisions and munitions; and with this relation the governor Pedro de Yvarra sent a pilot-book of the voyage, which the said Captain Ecija caused to be made by the pilot that was with him,⁶² stating the sea-marks and the character of the harbors and bays that there are from Florida to the place to which they went, and the governor says in his letter that it appears to him that the plan the English entertain, as far as he has been able to learn, is to fortify themselves in the said bay of Jacan (the mouth of which is four leagues and more across, and a stone's throw off from its entrance you have twenty fathoms at least), and to make an expedition into the land, taking for that purpose sufficient people, until they shall come to Nueva Mexico, Nueva Galicia, and Vizcaya, and Çacatecas, which are in the same latitude, and to go across the land to the other sea at the west, since from that part of Florida great rivers go up into the land and from the other sea also it is known that others go up, not smaller, and that there is little distance from the one set of rivers to the other, and the enemy could go up through those of the east coast and go down through those of the west, and fortify themselves in the ports of that sea and there make ships and fleets and overrun the whole coast of New Spain, Tierra Firme, Peru, and China, to the great damage of the crown and subjects of Your Majesty, and that before more of the land is seized upon it would be expedient to manage to drive him from it, since as to the natives they do not deprive them of any of their religious ceremonies, which is what they most cherish, and at the same time they appease and entertain them, though with things of little value, and keep them very pleased and contented and are attaching them all to themselves, and on that northward coast they will be able to settle at the bar of Cayagua, which is a good position, seventy leagues from the garrison of Florida, in 33½ degrees,⁶³ to which they can come by land from their settlement, and there there are many Indians very well provided with the fruits of the earth and other supplies.

And having examined all this in the council (*junta*) for war, together with other papers which were brought to it incidentally, though of little credit, and seeing that Your Majesty, in response to a *consulta* of March 23 of this year⁶⁴ (to the effect that one should suspend the execution of the project which had been sent out by the council (*consejo*) of war to consider a reconnaissance of Virginia, and that this

⁶⁰ Nearly 200, in a straight line.

⁶¹ They could not begin questioning him till July 26, after they had left the Chesapeake, because he "had lost his French speech and spoke Indian and could not be understood".

⁶² See note 23, above.

⁶³ Charleston harbor. All Ecija's latitudes, in report and pilot-book, exceed the actual, by about the same amount.

⁶⁴ In A. G. I., 147-5-16.

should be in the hands of this council (*junta*) because it concerned it and was matter that had been introduced in it) commanded that that which had been resolved upon by the said council (*consejo*) of war should be done, and that if to this council any other thing occurred which ought to be prepared toward the carrying out of what is to be done it should be consulted, and considering the damages and great inconveniences which are to be expected from the neighborhood of these English and the anxiety to which they would put all the West Indies and their trade, especially if they plant in those regions the religion which they profess, our opinion has been that it would be greatly to the service of God and of Your Majesty and the universal good of your subjects to break up their plans at once, driving them from there before they take more root and possess themselves of more land and fortify themselves, have greater forces and extend through other regions, as they will go on to do, since none other is their design, and if this is not done in time it will afterward be very difficult.

But that it may be done successfully, because the information now possessed is not thought sufficient, it will be well to obtain certain and complete information of all there is in Virginia, and for this purpose in addition to the means which the council (*consejo*) of war has taken and ordered to be taken, another method is suggested, which is that if Your Majesty would be pleased to send two religious of the English Seminary,⁶⁵ that more satisfaction may be obtained, by their going to England and embarking on the first occasion that any ships are going from there to Virginia, and having informed themselves of the inhabitants, settlement, and fortifications, and the character and form of the harbor or harbors where they are fortifying themselves they should return to England in the same trading ships and from there to Spain, with greater and more complete knowledge of all that is possible, in order that, having obtained whatever information is necessary through both channels, a plan may be put into execution to go in sufficient forces to drive them away.

Don Diego Ybarra and Don Fernando Xiron, inasmuch as it is highly important that no time should be lost in a matter of such consequence, are of the opinion that while these measures are being taken we should proceed to bring together (giving out that they are for some other purpose of the service of Your Majesty) some four or five thousand men and the ships necessary for them, which should be good and proper for this purpose, with sailors experienced in that navigation, that, taking into view the experience, knowledge, and adaptedness that are suitable for such an enterprise, they should think to be sufficient forces to carry out what is desired; moreover that if the new information obtained should require that these forces should be larger they may be rapidly increased, so that, all being ready, the fleet may put to sea by the end of March of the coming year 1612, which is the season most suitable for the voyage they have to make, since when the summer begins contrary winds are customary in those seas, and so they would go at great hazard,

⁶⁵ There were at this time two seminaries in Spain for English Catholics, both under Jesuit management: that of Valladolid, established in 1589 and still in existence, and that of Seville, established in 1592. Each at this time had ten or twelve priests, and sent several each year to England. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, VII. xxvi, xxxv.

and at least the costs incurred would be wasted because they would not be able to have any good effect. Your Majesty will order inquiry and the providing of what is most pleasing to him. Madrid, May 5, 1611. (Six rubrics.)

II. DEPOSITIONS OF JOHN CLARK AND OTHERS, AT HAVANA, 1611.⁶⁶

Relacion de lo que rresulta de las declaraciones que hicieron en la havana el ingles que truxeron alli de la Virginia y el maestre y piloto y un marinero de la caravela que por horden de su magestad se despacho para descubrir lo que alla y las fuerzas que tienen los ingleses.

declaracion del ingles de la Virginia.

que se llama Juan clerg y es natural de londres piloto de hedad de 35 años y que es de la rreligion de su rrey, y por el mes de marco deste año salio del puerto de la dicha ciudad para la Virginia con tres navios el uno de 300 toneladas otro de ciento cincuenta y el otro de noventa, y que el viaje que hizieron fue por la dominica y las niebes donde hizieron aguada, y de alli rreconociendo a portorico tomaron su derrota al norte y la primera tierra que descubrieron fue doze leguas azia hueste del puerto de la Virginia, y que otras vezes no suelen yr a la dominica a hazer agua sino ban por 22 grados governando hazia el hueste Vesnurueste sin rreconocer tierra y tomar yslas de Varlovento, y que la costa es limpia y a 40 leguas corriendola por el sur deste al huessdueste tiene 60 brazas de fondo, a 30 leguas 50, y a veynte leguas 36 y a 10 leguas 18 y a 5 leguas 15 braças y 5 leguas para tierra la menos agua que ay es de 5 a 4 braças y en la propia voca de la vaya ay de 12 a 14 braças y a la banda del sur del puerto esta un baxio que no tiene mas de una braça a braza y media de agua y al norte del en la propia boca de la Vaya, arrimado al puerto ay 10 y 12 braças de agua y desde la una punta del puerto y la otra ay de 8 a 5 braças de agua y dentro buen surxidero para naos y abrigado de todos bientos y dentro de la propia baya ay cinco Rios que ban a diferentes partes y de los quatro dellos no tiene noticia de la manera que son.

que a la voca del dicho puerto en el un Rio ay quatro fortificaciones a la parte del norte todas en una rribera y que el primer fuerte esta a la boca del Rio donde asisten 50 personas entre hombres y mugeres que las 40 seran de tomar armas y que el fuerte es de estacas y madera sin piedra ni ladrillo y tiene siete piezas de artilleria, dos de a treynta y cinco quintales y los demas de a treinta, veinte y dies y ocho, y todas de yerro colado, y que el segundo fuerte esta de alli dos tercios de legua y otro a un tiro de mosquete y el quarto a otro tiro de mosquete con cada una pieza de fierro colado para defensa de los indios, y la poblacion principal donde ay otra fortificacion esta veinte leguas del primer fuerte el Rio arriva, y en ella ay 16 piezas y esta tanvien cerrado destacas y las casas de la poblacion son de madera y las piezas de hierro colado como las demas, y llegan navios de alto bordo asta la dicha poblacion.

que por donde menos en la canal del Rio ay tres brazas y media de agua mas que esto se muda con las abenidas algunas bezes, si bien lo que se diferencia con las crecientes y menguantes no pasa de media braça, y que 30 leguas mas arriba del pueblo, que es 50 de la voca del puerto, llegan las varcas.

⁶⁶ Seville, A. G. I., 147-5-16.

que por la Rivera no se puede caminar por tierra y que de lo ultimo del Rio hasta la mar del sur abra diez y seis o diez y ocho jornadas, segun lo avian entendido de los indios naturales, y que no sabe que se rrecojan en el dicho puerto y Rios piratas ni navios de ningunas partes y que en todas las poblaciones y fortificaciones abra cosa de mil personas, las seiscientas dellas para tomar armas y las demas mugeres, niños y viejos.

que no sabe que se tenga desde inglaterra mas trato que aver traydo alguna comida y vestidos y otras cosas para la gente que alli asiste, y en rretorno buelben cargados de madera para pipas y para navios y palo de salsafra, y que ansi mismo an traído cien bacas, docientos puercos, cien cabras, y diez y siete yeguas y cavallos, y que entiende ay alguna mina de oro que es la caussa porque su Rey da permission para qué nabeguen de ynglaterra a aquellas partes, si bien hasta agora no avian hallado ninguna de oro ni plata aunque las avian buscado, ni los indios trayan nada desto, y nego aver confessado al maestro que se allavan pedacos de oro.

que aquella tierra a gobernado un hermano del conde nontonborlan, nombrado perse, que acavo su gobierno con la yda de un cavallero que se llama don thomas que fue en los tres navios en que hizo su viaje el declarante y que gobierna por orden del Rey de ynglaterra.

que Por agosto deste año esperaban quatro navios con alguna gente y cantidad de ganado a cargo de don thomas guies y que los que navegan a aquellas partes y se rrecojen alli es gente perdida que solian vivir de ser piratas.

que no a estado mas de una vez en la Virginia y que de presente avia alli seis navios, los tres que fueron con el y de los otros tres los dos fabricados en la bermuda, a donde arrivo con temporal uno de inglaterra con mas de ciento y cinquenta personas y entre ellas algunos oficiales, y como llebavan fierro, brea y lo demas necesario, los fabricaron agora dos años el uno de setenta toneladas y el otro de 25, y que el ultimo de los dichos vaxeles hera una barca de cossa de doze a treze toneladas fabricado en la dicha Virginia, donde estavan haziendo una galera de veinte y cinco bancos, pero que no se acabaria tan presto, rrespeto de aver poco que se comenco y no tener la gente necesaria, y que abra cinco años que se començo a poblar aquella tierra y que todos los que ay y ban a ella son ingleses.

que los indios de la tierra estan algunas vezes de paz y otras de guerra y andan vestidos de cueros de benado y con suş arcs y flechas que son gusamar, y los frutos que tienen son maiz y nuez, y la tierra adentro ay muchos venados y los ganados que an llebado de inglaterra, y de lo que es pescados en ocasiones ay abundancia y otras vezes ay muy poco.

y acerca de la forma que le prendieron declaro que haviendo llegado al dicho puerto de la virginia una caravela fue azia tierra una barca della con algunos hombres, de los quales saltaron tres en tierra, dos españoles y un ingles, a quien este declarante conosco porque agora dos años le vio en la ciudad de malaga que servia de piloto en la armada de don luis faxardo, y que a todos tres los llebaron los soldados que salieron a la playa con el capitan de la fuerca, que se llama david, y comieron todos juntos, y luego le dixeron al declarante con otros tres o quatro se fuesse a mater la caravela en el puerto, y el vino a la chalupa y uno de

los marineros le metio en el batel, llebandole en hombros, y quando le bieron dentro no le dexaron salir y llebaron a bordo de la caravela, donde le tuvieron toda la noche, y a la mañana le volvieron a hechar en el varco juntamente con el maestre de la caravela y otra gente y se fueron azia tierra para ablar con los ingleses y pedirles sus tres hombres, como lo hizieron, diziendo que les darian por ellos al declarante, a que rrespondieron que asta que diesen quenta al governador de aquella tierra que estava en la poblacion no podian hazer nada, y viendo esto el maestre y gente de la caravela, temiendose de que no les hiziesen daño los navios que estaban en el puerto, sin querer esperar mas se fueron a la havana a donde le llebaron consigo.

declaracion del maestre, piloto y marinero.

que luego que salieron del puerto de la havana, que fue un dia despues de corpus christi, les dixo don diego de molina que llebava a su cargo la caravela que yban a buscar la artilleria de un navio que se havia perdido en la costa de la florida y que assi birasen para alla (como lo hizieron), y se fueron al puerto de san agustin de aquellas provincias, donde estuvieron con el governador cinco dias, y de alli salieron a los 15 o 16 de junio y tomaron su derrota corriendo la dicha costa y sondaron hasta llegar a 37 grados donde hallaron la vaya Grande, y alli dixo don diego de molina que hera la parte que yban a buscar, y que haviendo entrado y sondado la vaya hasta la mitad hallaron que a la entrada tenia 15 braças y despues de 10 hasta 4 y vieron que estava un navio surto junto a una punta donde havia una fuerça como trinchea, y cerca de alli fueron en una chalupa a tierra y saltaron en ella (con sendas escopetas) Don diego de molina y el alferes marco antonio perez y el piloto ingles confidente cassado en lixboa que llebavan, y al maestre declarante le hordenó Don diego que se hiziese a la mar con toda la gente y que no allegasen a tierra ni saltasen en ella en ninguna manera, sin que ellos les avisasen, y que estando a la mira de lo que subcedia bieron salir en tres o quatro tropas de una ensenada como 50 hombres ingleses flamencos a su parecer, y los prendieron y quitaron las armas y los llebaron a un fuerte, y de alli a una hora volbieron como 20 ingleses en tres quadrillas y llamaron al maestre declarante y le pidieron que se llegase a tierra, y el les dixo que le truxesen primero a su capitan, y los ingleses le rrespondieron que no hera posible, y estando en esto vinieron otros con el ingles confidente que havian prendido, y viendo que el maestre no queria llegar a tierra le dixerón que el le llamase, asegurandole no le harian daño y que antes seria rregalado, y aunque por cumplir con ellos lo hizo, assi con algunas señas y su senblante triste le dio a entender que estava preso y que assi se hiziese a fuera, y estando en esto hordenó a un marinero que se hechase a nado y saliese a tierra y procurase saver algo del capitan, al qual no le dejaron ablar con el ingles confidente, y luego vinieron otros ocho, y uno dellos dixo que queria hablar al maestre, y el marinero se encargo de llebarle en hombros (como lo hizo) y llegado que fueron a la caravela procuro Reduzir por vien al maestre a que llegase a tierra, y el no solo no quiso hazer esto, mas viendo que no le querian traer a su capitan y los otros dos sus compañeros, dio la buelta a la mar con el ingles y aunque se quiso echar de la caravela le detuvieron y le llebaron a la havana, y en el viaje le preguntaron algunas cosas y entre otras dixo que 100 leguas la tierra adentro havia una sierra de donde trayan pedaços de oro.

(Al parecer incompleta.)

(TRANSLATION.)

Relation of the result of the declarations made in Havana by the Englishman whom they brought thither from Virginia, and the master and pilot and a sailor of the caravel which by order of His Majesty was despatched to discover what was going on there and the forces which the English have.

Declaration of the Englishman from Virginia.

That he is called Juan Clerg and is a native of London, a pilot, thirty-five years of age, and that he is of the religion of his king, and in the month of March of this year sailed from the port of the said city for Virginia with three ships, the one of 300 tons, another of 150, and another of 90, and that the course they took was for Dominica and Niebes,⁶⁷ where they took in water, and from there, sighting Porto Rico, they took their course to the north, and the first land they discovered was twelve leagues to the west of the port of Virginia, and that at other times they are not accustomed to go to Dominica, to get water, but sail for 22 degrees, steering to the west [and] west-northwest without sighting land or making the Windward Islands, and that the coast is clear, and at forty leagues, running from the southeast to the west-southwest, there are sixty fathoms, at thirty leagues fifty, at twenty leagues thirty-six, at ten leagues eighteen, and at five leagues fifteen fathoms, and five leagues off the land the least water there is is from five to four fathoms, and in the mouth itself of the bay there are from twelve to fourteen fathoms, and along the south shore of the harbor is a shoal which has not more than one fathom to a fathom and a half of water, and on the north side of it, in the mouth itself of the bay alongside the harbor, there are ten or twelve fathoms of water, and from one point of the harbor to the other there are from eight to five fathoms of water, and within there is a good roadstead for ships, well sheltered from all winds, and within the bay itself there are five rivers, flowing in different directions, and of four of these he has no knowledge as to what kind they are.

That at the mouth of the said harbor, in one of these rivers, there are four fortifications on the north side, all on one bank, and that the first fort is at the mouth of the river,⁶⁸ where there are fifty persons settled, men and women, of whom forty are fit to bear arms, and that the fort is of palisades and timber, without stone or brick, and has seven pieces of artillery, two of them of about thirty-five hundredweight and the rest of thirty, twenty, and eighteen, and all cast-iron, and that the second fort is two-thirds of a league from there, and another at a distance of one musket-shot, and the fourth at another musket-shot, each having one cast-iron piece for defense against the Indians, and the principal settlement,⁶⁹ where there is another fortification, is twenty leagues up the river from the first fort, and in it there are sixteen pieces, and it is also surrounded by palisades, and the houses of the settlement are

⁶⁷ Nevis. Clark sailed with Sir Thomas Dale, who left the Land's End March 17, 1611, and arrived at Point Comfort May 12; see his letter of May 25 in Brown, *Genesis*, I. 489-494.

⁶⁸ Algernon Fort, at Point Comfort. Of those next mentioned, two were "the two Princes Forts at Kecoughtan" (Forts Henry and Charles at Hampton); Dale, in Brown, I. 503.

⁶⁹ Jamestown.

all wood and the cannon of cast-iron like the rest, and ships of deep draft go up to the said settlement.

That where there is least water in the channel of the river there are three fathoms and one half of water, but that this changes sometimes with the freshes, although the difference between flood and ebb is not more than half a fathom, and that barges go thirty leagues farther up from the town, that is, fifty from the mouth of the harbor.

That it is not possible to journey by land along the river bank, and that from the uppermost part of the river to the South Sea would be sixteen or eighteen days' journey, as they have understood from the native Indians, and that he does not know that pirates or ships from any region gather in the said port and river, and that in all the settlements and fortifications there are about 1000 persons, 600 of them fit to bear arms and the rest women, boys, and old men.⁷⁰

That he does not know that there is any further trade with England than that some provisions and clothing and other things have been brought for the people that are settled there, and on the return voyage they go back laden with wood for hogsheads and for ships, and sassafras wood, and that also they have brought over 100 cows, 200 pigs, 100 goats, and 17 mares and horses, and that he understands that there is a certain gold-mine which is the cause why his king gives permission to sail from England to those parts, although up to the present time they have not found any gold or silver, though they have sought for it, nor do the Indians bring any of it, and he denied that he had confessed to the master that pieces of gold were found.

That that land has been governed by a brother of the Conde Nontonborlan, named Perse,⁷¹ who brought his government to an end at the coming of a knight who is called Don Tomas, who was in the three ships in which the deponent made his voyage, and who governs by the order of the king of England.

That in August of this year they expect four ships with some people and a quantity of cattle, under command of Don Tomas Guies,⁷² and that those who sail to these regions and gather there are abandoned people, who are accustomed to live by piracy.

That he has been only once in Virginia, and that at present there were six ships there, and the three that went with him, and of the other three, two were made in Bermuda, where one from England came ashore in a storm, with more than 150 persons, and among them some officials,⁷³ and taking the iron, pitch, and what else was necessary, they

⁷⁰ This is probably somewhat exaggerated. De la Warr says he left "upwards of two hundred" men there, Purchas, IV. 1763; the *Hercules* had brought some, Brown, I. 439, 441; Dale had brought 300, *ibid.*, I. 453, 506.

⁷¹ George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, was president of the council ruling in Virginia from the departure of Captain John Smith, in October, 1609, to the arrival, not of Sir Thomas Dale, as Clark seems to say, but of Sir Thomas Gates, May 23, 1610. Neill, *Virginia Company*, pp. 32, 34. In the parallel passage in Brown, I. 520, Professor Schele de Vere translates *nombrado perse*, "appointed for himself", instead of "named Percy"!

⁷² Gates. He arrived in August.

⁷³ Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, wrecked in the *Sea Venture*, July 28, 1609.

made them two years ago, the one of seventy tons and the other of twenty-five,⁷⁴ and that the last of the said vessels was a barge of about twelve or thirteen tons, made in the said Virginia, where they were also making a galley of twenty-five benches, but that it would not be finished very soon, because of having little that is prepared and not having the necessary men. and that it is five years since they began to settle that land, and that all those who are there or go to it are English.

That the Indians of that land are sometimes at peace and other times at war, and go clothed in deer skins and with their bows and arrows, which are *gusamar* [?],⁷⁵ and that the produce they gather is maize and walnuts, and up in the land there are many deer and the cattle that they have taken from England, and as to fisheries at times there is abundance and at others very little.

And as to the manner in which they took him, he declares that a caravel having come to the said harbor of Virginia a boat came ashore from it with some men, of whom three landed, two Spaniards and an Englishman, the last of whom this deponent knew, because two years ago he saw him in the city of Malaga serving as a pilot in the armada of Don Luis Faxardo,⁷⁶ and that the soldiers who went down to the shore with the captain of the fort who is called David,⁷⁷ took all three, and they all ate together, and then they ordered the deponent with three or four others to go and bring the caravel into the port, and he went to the shallop, and one of the mariners put him into the boat, carrying him on his shoulders, and when they saw him in it they would not let him go, but carried him on board the caravel, where they kept him all night, and in the morning they set him in a boat together with the master of the caravel and other men and went to the land to speak with the English and to ask them for their three men, which they did, saying that they would give them the deponent in return for these, to which they replied that until they should have given account to the governor of that land, who was at the settlement, they could not do anything, and the master and the people of the caravel, seeing this, feared that the ships which were in the port might do them some harm, and being unwilling to wait longer went away to Havana taking him with them.

Declaration of the master, pilot, and mariner.

That when they sailed from the port of Havana, which was one day after Corpus Christi,⁷⁸ Don Diego de Molina, who had command of the

⁷⁴ The *Deliverance* and the *Patience*, whose building is fully narrated in William Strachey's "True Reportory", Purchas, IV. 1734-1756; the two next mentioned were the *Discovery* and the *Virginia*, Brown, I. 406.

⁷⁵ The editor has not found this word in any dictionary. George Percy, in his "Observations", says, "Their Bowes are made of tough Hasell, their strings of Leather, their Arrowes of Canes or Hasell, headed with very sharpe stones, and are made artificially like a broad Arrow: other some of their Arrowes are headed with the ends of Deeres hornes, and are feathered very artificially." Purchas, IV. 1688-1689. But possibly the reading may be *sus armas*, "their arms".

⁷⁶ Captain-general of the ocean fleet, who in 1609 sailed with a great fleet against the Barbary corsairs and burned twenty-two of their ships in the harbor of Tunis. Duro, *La Armada Española*, III. 324.

⁷⁷ Captain James Davis.

⁷⁸ June 3, 1611. Pereda says June 2.

caravel, told them that they were going to seek the artillery of a ship which had been lost on the coast of Florida, and that they should sail in that direction, which they did, and came to the port of San Agustin of those provinces, where they remained with the governor five days, and from there they sailed on the 15th or 16th of June and took their course up along the said coast, sounding, until they came to 37 degrees, where they found a great bay, and that Don Diego de Molina said that this was the place which they were to seek, and that having entered and sounded the bay up to the middle of it they found that at the entrance it has fifteen fathoms and then from ten to four, and that they saw that there was a ship anchored⁷⁹ near a point where there was a fort like an intrenchment, and near it they went ashore in a shallop, and Don Diego de Molina and the ensign Marco Antonio Perez and the English pilot they had taken with them, a spy (*confidente*) married in Lisbon, jumped ashore, having their muskets, and Don Diego ordered the master, this deponent, to put to sea with all the people, and that they should not come to land nor disembark in any manner unless they should so signal to them, and that being in sight of what went on they saw some fifty men, English or Flemish as it appeared to them, come out in three or four squads from a cove, and they seized them and took away their arms and took them to a fort, and an hour later twenty Englishmen returned in three squads and called to the master, this deponent, and requested him to come to land, and he said to them to first bring back his captain, and the English replied that it was not possible, and while this was going on others came with the English spy whom they had taken, and seeing that the master would not come to land they told the latter that he should call him, assuring him that they would not do him damage, but that he should be regaled, but that although to comply with their orders he did it, yet by some signs and by his sad countenance he gave him to understand that he was taken prisoner, and that consequently he should go away and thereupon [this deponent] ordered a sailor to swim ashore and try to learn something concerning the captain, but they would not let him speak with the English spy, and then eight others came, and one of them said he wished to speak to the master, and the sailor undertook to carry him out upon his shoulders, and did so, and when they had come to the caravel he tried to persuade the master to come to land, and he not only would not do it but, seeing that they would not bring back his captain and the other two companions, he put out to sea with the Englishman, and although the latter tried to escape from the caravel they detained him and brought him to Havana, and on the voyage they asked him certain things, and among other things he said that a hundred leagues up into the land there was a mountain from which they obtained pieces of gold.

(Apparently incomplete.)

III. EXAMINATION OF JOHN CLARK, AT MADRID, FEBRUARY 18, 1613.⁸⁰
confesion del Piloto yngles de la virginia.

En la Villa de madrid A diez y ocho dias del mes de hebrero de mill y seis cientos y trece años, el señor licenciado don francisco de texada del qonsejo real de las yndias de su magestad y de su junta de guerra de

⁷⁹ The *Prosperous* or the *Elizabeth*. Brown, I. 497.

⁸⁰ A. G. I., 147-5-17.

ndias, para algunos efectos tocantes al servicio de su magestad, hizo traer ante si a un hombre yngles de nacion que estava en poder del capitán don Alonso flores por orden de la dicha junta de guerra, del qual en presencia de mi el presente escribano su merced tomo y reçibió del juramento en forma de derecho y el le hizo bien y cunplidamente y haviendo jurado se le hicieron las preguntas siguientes.

Preguntado como se llama, dixo que se llama Juan clarque.

preguntado de donde es Vezino y natural, dixo que es vezino de la ciudad de londres en ynglaterra.

preguntado si es catholico romano, dixo que si.

Preguntado que officio y profesion tiene, dixo que piloto y que a quatro años que usa este officio aunque antes trataba de saberlo porque a quatro años que navega en diferentes partes del mundo.

Preguntado quando hizo biaje a la Virginia y con quien y para que efectos y como della fue traído a la ciudad de la havana, Dixo que el año pasado de seis cientos y once a los primeros de marzo partió del puerto de londres en un navio de trescientas Toneladas en que yba por piloto con otros dos navios, el uno de ciento y cinquenta y el otro de noventa toneladas, en que yban trescientos hombres de guerra fuera de los marineros y seis cientos barriles de harina y cinquenta de polvora y algunas caxas de arcabuzes, todo despachado por cuenta De los mercaderes de londres para la Virginia, de que yba por general don Tomas diel que avia de averdar, como quedo, por governador de la Virginia; y tardaron en el viaxe dos meses y medio, y la derrota que llevaron fue desde ynglaterra fueron navegando al sudueste hasta ponerse en la altura de las yslas de canaria, que fue en veinte y ocho grados, y desde allí navegaron al oeste sudueste hasta la altura de la dominica en catorze grados y medio, donde hizieron agua y se detuvieron dos dias, y de allí navegaron al nor norueste a la isla de las niebes, donde estuvieron quatro dias refrescando la gente, por llevar algunos enfermos, y desde allí al norueste quarto al norte al Pasaxe, por donde embocaron hasta que rreconocieron la costa de la Virginia entre el cavo del engaño y cavo Enrrique, y que la causa de gobernar al norueste quarta al norte y al nor norueste algunas vezes era por causa de las corrientes que les hechava al nordeste y la bariacion de la aguxa que le davan de resguardo de siete a ocho grados, y de allí navegaron al nor norueste hasta estar sobre el cavo Enrrique, que es una de las puntas por donde se entra a la baya, donde entraron y pasaron a surgir dentro del Rio en una punta que en yngles llaman Punt Comfort, que en castellano quiere dezir punta de consolacion. y allí hecharon la gente en tierra, y los marineros llevaron los tres navios por el Rio arriva hasta el lugar principal que llaman Jacobus, a donde dieron fondo, porque no pueden pasar adelante Navios del dicho porte, aunque navios de quarenta o cinquenta toneladas que demanden dos baras y media de agua pueden pasar treinta leguas adelante, y que estando este que declara en compañia de los yngleses porque avia benido del lugar principal a traer un barco con arina, de la que traya en los navios, para la provision de los yngleses que estan en guarda de los fuertes que estan en la Punta de consolazion, llego una falua en que benian doce a trece hombres, de los quales saltaron tres en tierra, y haviendo salido a ellos el capitán del fuerte con una esquadra de soldados Pregunto a los tres hombres, que el uno conocio este que declara que era yngles y piloto, Por averle visto en una casa quando

don luis faxardo fue a quemar los galeones de Tunez, que a que benian alli; y respondieron que a buscar un navio del Rey de españa que se avia perdido en aquella Costa, y el capitan le dixo que tenia necesidad de dar quenta a su governador de su llegada, que estava en el lugar principal llamado Jacobus, veinte leguas de alli, y assi lo hiço en un barco, y dixo a uno de los tres que porque no se perdiese la caravela en la baya a donde avia dado fondo la metiesen dentro del Rio y punta de consolacion donde estaria segura; y aviendole respondido que quien quedava En ella no sabia hazerlo y que le diesen Piloto para ello, ordeno El capitan a este que declara que, en la misma falua en que avian benido los tres, fuesen a meter en la dicha caravela, y assi lo hiço, y llegando a ella dixo el maestre que no queria entrar sino volvieran por ella los que faltavan, y no queriendolos dar, aunque otro dia bolvio la falua por ellos, partio la dicha caravela sin esperar mas, con este que declara, a la havana, quedando los tres en el poder de los yngleses.

Preguntado que surgideros y de que calidad y que fuertes y quales ay desde la baya hasta la dicha çuidad de Jacobus, dixo que la baya es grande de siete u ocho leguas de ancho y fondable, aunque no tienen seguridad los navios ni avrigo en ella Y assi entran hasta avrigarse detras de la punta de consolacion, como el lo hiço, a donde cavan Treinta navios ancorados de hasta ochocientas toneladas, porque aunque quando corre norte se siente dentro alguna mar no es cosa de mucha consideracion; y que En esta misma punta ay un fuerte a la mar, a donde estan plantadas siete pieças de artilleria de a treinta quintales, cada una muy a la lengua del agua, de manera que Por ser la entrada angosta, que no tiene mas de un tiro de escopeta fondable, no pueden entrar ni estar los navios dado fondo sin que les haga daño la artilleria, y en este fuerte estan cinquenta soldados de ordinario Presidio, y dos quartos de legua del ay otros dos forteçuelos con una pieça de artilleria cada uno de a diez a doze quintales para guardar los sembrados de los yndios, y que estos fuertes y el primero de la punta son fortificados de estacas gruesas muy juntas.

preguntado que tantas casas avia en el dicho lugar llamado Jacobus y de que calidad y que gente de guerra y que artilleria, dixo que abra çient cassas de madera, y en ellas y en las otras partes que a dicho hasta mil hombres de guerra, entre mercaderes y soldaços y labradores, y treinta mugeres, y que el lugar esta fortificado de estacas en la forma dicha y tendra como diez y seis pieças de artilleria, las diez gruesas y las otras menores, las gruesas de a quarenta a cinquenta quintales y las otras de a diez y seis y a diez y siete, y que no save que aya otra poblacion fuera desta, y que de los yndios que algunos ay amigos y otros no lo son, y que le parece que de los unos y de los otros no ay mucha cantidad; y que lo que asta agora a Visto llevar de aquella parte a ynglaterra por mercaderia es madera para labrar diferentes cosas y salsa frasi, y lo que traen de ynglaterra son mantenimientos de arinas y otras cosas y municiones y ganados diferentes que se dan bien.

Preguntado si save que se ayan allado algunas minas de plata, dixo que no lo save.

preguntado si save las causas porque an poblado aquella tierra los yngleses y de quanto tiempo a esta parte, dixo que entiende que la an poblado de seis años a esta parte, y que las causas son yr ganando la tierra y fabricar navios y que no save ell efecto para que que estan en

paraxe que en quinze dias a lo mas largo se pueden poner en las yslas de barlovento.

Preguntado quanto se tardara de vuelta de la Virginia a ynglaterra, dixo que un mes y que a entendido que es el Viaxe bueno y que navegan al este quarta al nordeste hasta rreconocer las yslas de flores algunas beces, y que pueden no rreconocerlas hasta llegar a ynglaterra aunque es mexor y mas segura navegacion rreconocer las yslas, y que para españa navegando al este rreconoceran las yslas del fayal o la tercera de adonde se toma la derrota ordinaria.

Preguntado quantas beces a estado en la Birginia y que tanto tiempo y que navios allo alli en el en que estuvo, dixo que no a hecho mas viaxe del que tiene dicho y que estuvo quarenta dias hasta que fue presso y que allo un navio de partida para ynglaterra con madera y salsa frasi de çiento y cinquenta toneladas.

preguntado que entiende habran hecho los yngleses de las tres personas que quedaron en su poder, dize que tiene por çierto que no les habran tratado mal, porque los yngleses no tratan mal a los prisioneros.

preguntado si save despues que esta en esta qorte alguna nueva dellos, dixo que un yngles que vive en la calle mayor desta villa le dixo a este que declara que un conoçido suyo le dixo que avia ablado en ynglaterra con el piloto yngles que yba con don diego de molina y era uno de los tres que quedaron en la Virginia.

Preguntado que hedad tiene, dixo que es de hedad de quarenta años, y lo firmo de su nombre y que lo que tiene dicho En este su dicho y declaracion es la verdad, so cargo del dicho Juramento que hecho tiene. y lo rrubrico Su merced. ba testado una quarta y me, ut, se fueron, a donde. (Rubrica.)

JOHN CLARK.

fui presente DAMIAN DE CARRION Y BRICUELA. (Rubricado.)

(TRANSLATION.)

Confession of the English Pilot of Virginia.

In the city of Madrid on the 18th day of the month of February of 1613 the Señor Licenciado Don Francisco de Texada, of His Majesty's Royal Council of the Indies and of his council for war in the Indies,⁸¹ for certain purposes touching the service of His Majesty caused to be brought before him a man, English by nation, who was in the custody of Captain Don Alonso Flores by order of the said war-council, and in the presence of me the present scribe his Worship took and received this man's oath in form of law, and he gave it well and completely, and having been sworn the following questions were asked him.

Being asked how he was called, he said that he is called Juan Clarke.

Being asked of what place he was an inhabitant and native, he said that he is an inhabitant of the city of London in England.

Being asked if he is a Roman Catholic, he said yes.

Being asked what office and profession he has, he said a pilot and that for four years he has followed that office, though before this he was in a way of knowing it, because for four years he had sailed in different parts of the world.

Being asked when he made the voyage to Virginia and with whom

⁸¹ See the list inserted in the heading of document no. I.

and for what purposes and how he was brought to the city of Havana, he said that in the previous year of 1611 at the beginning of March he set sail from the port of London in a ship of 300 tons in which he went as pilot, together with two other ships, the one of 150 tons and the other of 90, in which went 300 men of war in addition to the mariners and 600 barrels of flour and 50 of powder and some boxes of arquebusses, the whole despatched on account of the merchants of London for Virginia, as general of which went Don Thomas Diel,⁸² who was to live there, as in fact he remained, as governor of Virginia; and they spent upon that voyage two months and one half, and the course they took was that from England they were sailing to the southwest until they came into the latitude of the Canary Islands, which was at 28 degrees, and from there they sailed west-southwest to the latitude of Dominica in 14½ degrees, where they took in water and stayed two days, and from there they sailed north-northwest to the island of Niebes,⁸³ where they remained four days refreshing the people, because they had some men sick, and from there northwest-quarter-north to the Passage,⁸⁴ up which they went until they made the coast of Virginia between the Cape of Deception⁸⁵ and Cape Henry and that the reason for steering northwest-quarter-north and north-northwest several times was because of the currents which pushed them to the northeast and the variation of the needle which they warned him to be 7 and 8 degrees, and from there they sailed north-northwest until they were off Cape Henry, which is one of the capes between which one enters into the bay, into which they entered, and proceeded to go up within the river to a point which in English they call Punt Comfort, which in Castilian means Point of Consolation; and there they put the people ashore, and the mariners took the three ships up the river to the principal place, which they call Jacobus,⁸⁶ where they anchored, because the ships could not go up beyond the said port, though ships of 40 or 50 tons, which draw two yards and one half of water, can go up 30 leagues, and that this deponent being in company with the English, because he had come from that principal place to bring a barge with flour of that which he brought in the ships, for the provision of the English who garrison the forts at Point Comfort, there came a long-boat in which were twelve or thirteen men, of whom three landed, and the captain of the fort having gone to them with a squad of soldiers asked the three men (one of whom this deponent knew, that he was an Englishman and a pilot, because of having seen him in a house when Don Luis Faxardo went to burn the galleons of Tunis)⁸⁷ why they came there and they replied, to seek a ship of the king of Spain which had been lost on that coast, and the captain told him that he would have to give account to his governor of their coming, who was then at the principal place, called Jacobus, twenty leagues from there, and so he did in a barge. And he said to one of the three that in order that the caravel should not be lost in the bay where it had anchored, they should bring it up into the river and to

⁸² Dale.

⁸³ Nevis.

⁸⁴ The Bahama Channel.

⁸⁵ Not False Cape, but Cape Hatteras.

⁸⁶ James [Town].

⁸⁷ See note 76, above.

Point Comfort, where it would be safe, and he having replied that whoever was left in her would not know how to do it and that they should give him a pilot for that purpose, the captain ordered this deponent to take the same long-boat in which the three had come and go on board the said caravel, and so he did, and on his coming to her the master said that he would not sail in unless they brought back to her those who were missing and as [the English captain] would not give them up, though on another day the long-boat returned for them, the said caravel, without waiting longer, sailed away with this deponent to Havana, leaving the three in the power of the English.

Being asked what roadsteads and of what quality and what forts and of what sort there are from the bay up to the said city of Jacobus, he said that the bay is seven or eight leagues wide and with good soundings, although ships have not security or shelter in it, and so go in until they shelter themselves behind Point Comfort, as he did, where there is room for thirty ships up to 800 tons to anchor, for although when the wind is north some sea is felt in there, it is not a matter of much importance; and on that same point there is a fort beside the shore where seven pieces of artillery are mounted, each of about thirty hundredweight, placed alongside the water in such a way that, since the entrance is narrow and the channel is not more than a musket-shot broad, ships cannot enter or anchor without the artillery doing them damage, and in that fort there are fifty soldiers of ordinary garrison, and half a league from it there are two other small fortifications each having one piece of artillery of ten or twelve hundredweight, to guard the cornfields from the Indians, and that these forts and the first one, on the point, are fortified with stout palisades well joined together.

Being asked how many houses there were in the said place called Jacobus and of what sort and what soldiers and what artillery, he said that there are about 100 wooden houses and in them and in the other places that he has mentioned about a thousand men capable of bearing arms, what with traders and soldiers and laborers, and thirty women, and that the place is fortified with palisades in the form mentioned⁸⁸ and probably has about sixteen pieces of artillery, ten heavy and the other smaller, the heavy pieces of about forty or fifty hundredweight, and the others of about sixteen or seventeen, and that he does not know that there is any other settlement besides that, and that of the Indians some are friendly and some are not, and that it appears to him that there is no great number of either sort; and that what up to the present time he has seen taken from that region to England by way of merchandise is timber for making different things, and sassafras, and what they bring from England are provisions of flour and other things and munitions and cattle of different sorts, which do well.

Being asked if he knows that they have found any mines of silver he said that he does not know.

Being asked if he knows the reasons why the English have settled that country and for how long at that place, he said that he understands

⁸⁸ Smith describes it as "invironed with a palizado of foureteene or fiteene foot, and each [*i.e.*, each stake] as much as three or foure men could carrie". *Generall Historie*, p. 165. Strachey, who describes the fort in detail, says that it is "inclosed round with a Pallizado of Planckes and strong Posts, foure foote deepe in the ground, of yong Oakes, Walnuts, etc." Purchas, IV. 1753.

that they have been settled at that place for six years and that the reasons are to acquire land and build ships and that he does not know the result, beyond the fact that they are in such a situation that in fifteen days at most they can reach the Windward Islands.

Being asked how long it takes to sail from Virginia to England, he said a month, and that he has understood that the voyage is good, and that sometimes they sail east-quarter-northeast until they make the islands of Flores,⁸⁹ but that it is possible for them not to make them on their way to England, though it is better and safer navigation to make the islands, and that for Spain, sailing east, they make the islands of Fayal or Tercera, whence the ordinary course is taken.

Being asked how many times he has been in Virginia, and for how long, and what ships he found there [beside] that in which he was, he said that he has made no other voyage than that which he has mentioned, and that he was there forty days before he was taken,⁹⁰ and that he found there a ship of 150 tons about to sail for England with timber and sassafras.

Being asked what he believes the English will have done to the three persons who were left in their power, he says that he considers it certain that they will not be ill-treated, because the English do not ill-treat prisoners.

Being asked if he has learned subsequently that there is in this court any news respecting them, he said that an Englishman who lives in the Calle Mayor of this town told this deponent that an acquaintance of his told him that he had talked in England with the English pilot who went with Don Diego Molina, and he was one of the three who was left in Virginia.⁹¹

Being asked his age, he said that he was forty years old. And he signed this with his name and declared that what he has said in this his answer and declaration is the truth, under obligation of the said oath which he has taken. And his Worship has added his rubric.⁹² (Rubric.)

JOHN CLARK.

I, DAMIAN DE CARRION Y BRICUELA, was present. (Rubric).

⁸⁹ The northwesternmost of the Azores; Fayal and Terceira lie to the south-east.

⁹⁰ He arrived May 12; forty days would bring the date to June 21.

⁹¹ This was a mistake. Lymby never reached England. See note 27, above.

⁹² The concluding sentence of the Spanish text is merely a scrupulous enumeration, by the scribe, of words he had written and then erased.